Volume 30, No. 1 Spring Number, 1941

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

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Communications on general ASSOCIATION matters should be addressed to Miss Anna B. Hewitt, Secretary, FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania; manuscripts submitted for publication, and communications on editorial matters, should be addressed to Thomas K. Brown, Jr., Editor, BULLETIN OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, 226 Dickinson Ave., Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

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Dues and subscriptions should be paid to I. Thomas Steere, Treasurer, FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, 30 Buck Lane, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

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Elected at the annual meeting held Eleventh mo. 25, 1940

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MEMBERSHIP

Any person, whether or not a member of the Society of Friends, who is interested in the purposes of the ASSOCIATION, is eligible for membership. Applications should be sent to the Secretary. Members are especially urged to invite their friends to join, and, in case of their assent, to send their names as nominations to the Secretary.

Annual membership dues, $2.00. Life membership, $50.00.

"Perpetual Membership" has been provided for by the following amendment to the Constitution:

Upon receipt of any gift or bequest of one thousand dollars or more, the donor or the person in whose memory the fund is given shall be elected to perpetual membership. The names of such members shall be printed in all lists of membership, and if the person is deceased the name shall be followed by the words, "In Memoriam."

Volume 30, No. 1 Spring Number, 1941

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

THE ANNUAL MEETING of Friends' Historical Association was held in the Atwater Kent Museum, 15 South Seventh Street, Philadelphia, on Second-day, 11th mo. 25, 1940, at 8.15 p. m. At the business meeting the President and Treasurer presented their annual reports, and the members elected the Directors listed on the opposite page. The Directors later met for a brief organization meeting, and elected the officers. After the addresses there was the usual social opportunity and collation, and those present inspected the exhibits on the various floors of the building.

An unusually large number of members and their friends assembled, both to see the Museum and its exhibits of Philadelphia history, only recently opened to the public, and to hear the addresses which followed the business meeting. Mr. A. Atwater Kent, Jr., spoke of the near escape of the building from being leveled to make way for a parking lot, and had the difficult assignment of telling further how it had been acquired by purchase, repaired and restored, and equipped with modern museum facilities, through the generosity of his father, Mr. A. Atwater Kent, and presented to the city of Philadelphia. Mr. Joseph McCosker, Director of the Museum, welcomed those present to the inspection of the building, and told something of the different exhibits.

The principal address of the evening was by Mr. Henry S. Jeanes, Jr., one of the board of seven trustees provided for by the city ordinance of July 28, 1938, authorizing the acceptance of the Museum, on "Philadelphia's Newest Museum—Its Purposes and Aims." The Museum was the original home of the Franklin Institute, started in 1824 and finished two years later in the style of the Greek Renaissance. When the Institute removed to the great Franklin Memorial on the Parkway in 1933, the old building remained vacant, and though offered for sale attracted no buyers. It was a really historic building; and the rumor that it would be torn down to make way for a parking

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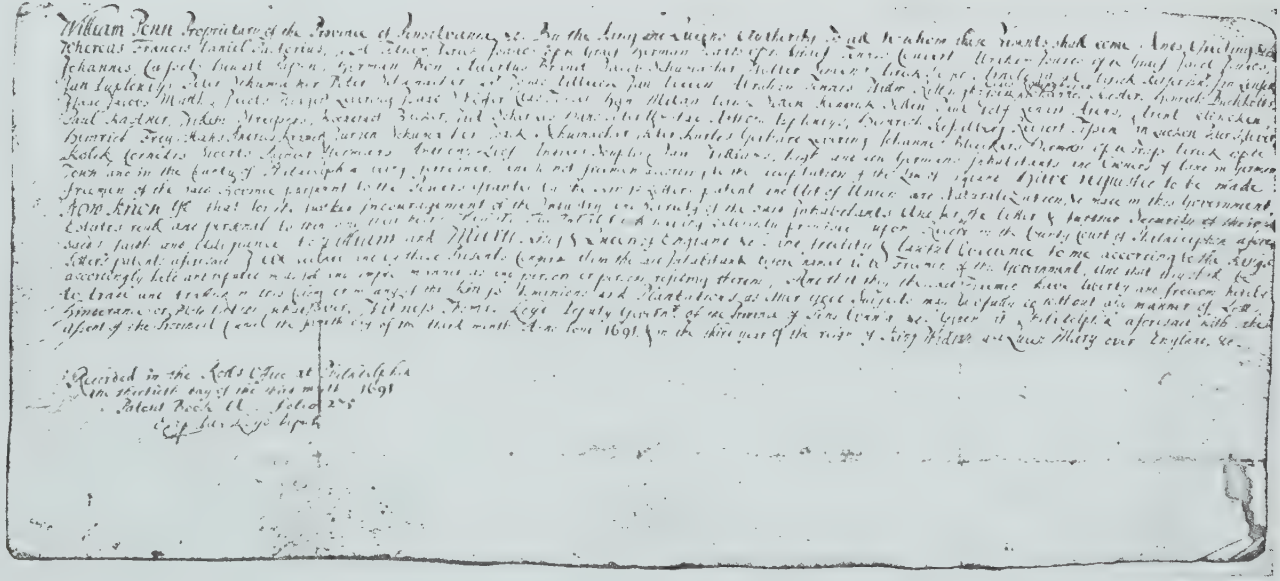
lot stirred Mr. A. Atwater Kent, who had already been instrumental in saving the Betsy Ross House, to action. It was bought and repaired, and outfitted with beautiful modern museum equipment, so that the exhibits can be displayed in the best light and with the greatest satisfaction to the visitors.

The purpose of the Museum was to be the display of exhibits showing the history of Philadelphia—telling the story of the economic, social, and political life of the community of the past. "In art, science, and social organization, therefore, the Museum will seek to illustrate and explain the manner in which these endeavors affected the life of the people. In doing this, however, it will not neglect its duty of bringing before the public the important contributions that have been made by Philadelphians in all fields of human activity."

Considerable space is given to the activities of Quakers in the history of Philadelphia; and some of the Association's treasures are on indefinite loan as parts of the exhibits. The Museum has generously offered the Association the use of a room for its meetings, and storage room for some of its property.

NEBRASKA Central College, which is referred to in many places in a following article, is situated in Central City, Nebraska, on the Platte River, about 100 miles west of Lincoln. The College was founded by an organization incorporated in 1898, having for its aim the establishment of an institution of learning among Friends in Nebraska, and opened its doors in September 1899. In 1908 Nebraska Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends was organized and the College placed under its care. Since that time it has continued to represent the educational work of the Yearly Meeting.

Nebraska Yearly Meeting includes the States of Nebraska, Colorado, and South Dakota. The students of the College, however, come from an even larger area, as Nebraska Central is the only Quaker college in that section of the United States. In a very real sense it is becoming the Quaker center for its section. In view of the conscription act and other steps currently being undertaken by our government, the College feels an increasing responsibility to uphold Quaker ideals.



Courtesy American-German Review

Text of the Naturalization Paper made by Francis Daniel Pastorius
Size of document 7½ x 16⅞ inches

PASTORIUS' NATURALIZATION PAPER[1]

By Gerhard Friedrich

HISTORIANS have been unable to agree upon when and how Pastorius and the group of Germans [or Dutchmen?—Ed.] who settled in Germantown, actually became citizens of this country.

Israel Daniel Rupp, in his *Collection of Thirty Thousand Names of German, Swiss, Dutch, French, and other Immigrants in Pennsylvania,* gives a list of the first settlers at Germantown and vicinity, from 1683 to 1710, and he marks with an asterisk seventy-seven names, including that of Pastorius, which "were naturalized by an Act of Assembly, 1708-1709." Professor Oswald Seidenstricker, however, reports that an Act for Naturalization was passed by the Assembly of Pennsylvania in 1700, and that "about 150 Germans, who had been in the country twenty-two years, were, upon their petition, naturalized by the Provincial Council" in 1706. Another historian, C. Henry Smith, author of *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania,* refers to "a list of men who applied for naturalization in 1691." He adds that "the entire list contains sixty-two names, and of these, seventeen seem to be Mennonites, eighteen are Mennonite-Quakers, and the remainder belong to various religious groups or none at all." Whether or not those sixty-two applicants were at once received into full citizenship, C. Henry Smith does not state, but he mentions that some of the later immigrants were naturalized in 1698.

We are fortunate enough to reproduce here a document which was discovered only a few weeks ago as one of the most interesting items in the Cassel Collection at Juniata College, Huntingdon, Pa. Having neither seal nor signature, the document reads as follows:

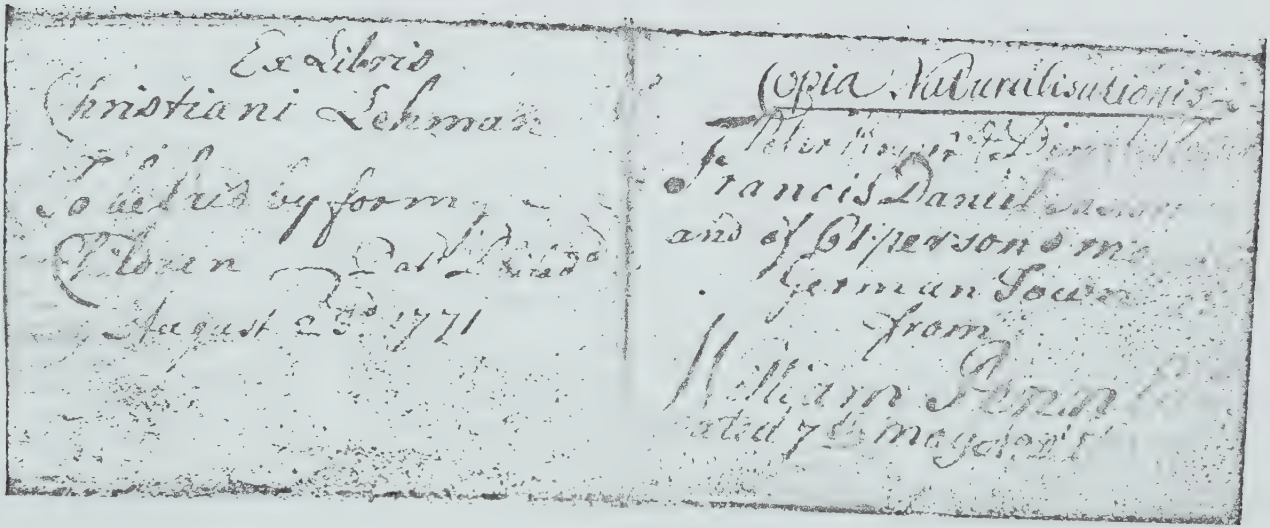
William Penn, Proprietary of the Province of Pennsilvania, etc. By the King and Queen's Authority, To all to whom these Presents shall come Sends Greeting, etc. Whereas Francis Daniel Pastorius, Jacob Telner, Dirick Isaacs op de Graef, Herman Isaacs op de Graef, Tennis

[1] Reprinted, with kind permission, from *The American-German Review* for October 1940, p. 30 ff.

Conderts, Abraham Isaacs op de Graef, Jacob Isaacs, Johannes Cassels, Hewart Papen, Herman Bon, Albertus Brandt, Jacob Schumacher, Walter Simens, Dirick Keyser, Arnold Cassel, Dirick Keyser Junr., Jan Lensen, Jan Duplouvys, Peter Schumacher, Peter Schumacher Junr., Isaac Dilbeeck, Jan Doeden, Abraham Tennis, Willm Rittinghuysen, Claes Rittinghuysen, Johannes Kusters, Henrich Buchholts, Isaac Jacobs, Matthis Jacobs, Wiggert Levering, Isaac Schoeffer, Cläs Tamsen, Hanns Milan, Dirick Sellen, Hendrick Sellen, Paul Wolff, Lenart Arens, Arent Klincken, Paul Kastner, Willem Streipers, Koendradt Backer, Viet Scherkes, Hanns Peter Umstad, Anthony Duplouvys, Heinrich Kesselberg, Reinert Tissen, Jan Lucken, Peter Klever, Heinrich Frey, Hanns Andrees Kramer, Jurgen Schumacher, Isack Schumacher, Peter Kurlis, Gerhard Levering, Johannes Bleickers, Herman op de Trap, Dirick op de Kolck, Cornelis Siverts, Reinier Hermans, Anthony Loof, Andrees Couplis, and Jan Williams, high and Low Germans, Inhabitants and Owners of land in German-Town and in the County of Philadelphia, being forreiners, and so not freemen, according to the acceptation of the Law of England, *Have requested* to be made freemen of the said Province, pursuant to the Powers granted by the King's Letters, patent, and Act of Union and Naturalization, etc. made in this Government, *Now Know ye,* that for the further Incouragement of the Industry and Sobriety of the said Inhabitants, And for the better and further Security of their Estates reall and personal, to them and their heirs, They the said Inhabitants having Solemnly promised (upon Record in the County Court of Philadelphia aforesaid) faith and Allegiance to WILLIAM *and* MARY, *King and Queen of England,* etc. and fidelity and lawful Obedience to me, according to the King's Letters, patents aforesaid, *I doe declare* and by these Presents Confirm them the said Inhabitants before named to be Freemen of this Government, And that they shall be accordingly held and reputed in as full and ample manner as any person or persons residing therein, And that they the said Freemen have liberty and freedom hereby to trade and traffick in this Colony or in any of the King's Dominions and Plantations, as other good Subjects may lawfully do without any manner of Lett, Hindrance or Molestation whatsoever. *Witness* Thomas Lloyd, Deputy Governr. of the Province of Pennsilvania, etc. Given at Philadelphia aforesaid, with the assent of the Provincial Council, the Seventh day of the third month Anno Doni 1691, and in the third year of the reign of King William and Queen Mary over England, etc.

Recorded in the Roll's Office at Philadelphia
the thirtieth day of the third month 1691.
Patent Book A, folio 275.
Excp. (?) Da: Lloyd Deput.

The parchment from which the foregoing text is taken is a copy made by Francis Daniel Pastorius. It is well preserved,



Courtesy American-German Review

Endorsement on Pastorius' Naturalization Paper
The words "Copia Naturalisationis" are in Pastorius' handwriting

and measures 19 x 43 centimeters. Of the title, found on the outside, only the words "Copia Naturalisationis" are given in Pastorius' hand. The explanatory notes following the Latin designation were written by a certain Christian Lehman. Probably some time later on, Lehman superscribed the first little "of" which he had added to "Copia Naturalisationis" with the names of "Peter Keyser and Dirrck Keyser." The entry or endorsement on the outside of the parchment reads in full:

Ex Libris
CHRISTIANI LEHMAN
To be laid by for my Children
Dat^{d} Philad^{a} August 23^{d}. 1771

Copia Naturalisationis
of
FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS
and of 61 persons more of
German Town
from
WILLIAM PENN, ESQ.
Dated 7th May A^{o}. D^{l}. 1691

Peter Keyser and Dirrck Keyser may have been the original owners of the document, and perhaps they were related to Christian Lehman. Lehman was born in Dresden, on November 7, 1714. He came to this country in 1731, with his father Gottfried. According to Edward W. Hocker, now of Germantown, Christian Lehman belonged to the Church of the Brethren, and he was Germantown's principal surveyor, scrivener, and conveyancer in the period immediately preceding the Revolution. Whether Pastorius had made a copy for each one of the 62 persons involved, is not quite clear. When the "Copia Naturalisationis" which now belongs to the library of Juniata College was still in possession of Abraham H. Cassel, at Harleysville, Montgomery County, that great antiquarian of the Dunker Church (Church of the Brethren) used to transcribe and to reprint it for his friends. But even when he grew old and gave away many of his valuable books and manuscripts, he kept the Pastorius certificate, proud of the fact that his own ancestors were found among the first settlers of Germantown.

AN APPRECIATION by Howard J. Conn, a Connecticut minister, of the religion of a seventeenth-century Quaker appears in *Religion in Life*, 9 (1940), 513-525 under the title "The Letters of Isaac Penington."

WILLIAM PENN AND THE ROYAL SOCIETY

By Luella M. Wright

WAS WILLIAM PENN, the Founder of Pennsylvania, a member of the Royal Society of London? This question can be definitely answered in the affirmative. William Penn was admitted to the Fellowship of the Royal Society on November 9, 1681.[1]

The original doubt about this fact probably came from a question raised by Norman Penney, the indefatigable curator of the Friends Reference Library in London. In enumerating for the *Journal of the Friends Historical Society* the roll of Friends who had been elected Fellows of the Royal Society, Penney did not include the name of William Penn; instead he remarked in a footnote: "In 1681 William Penn was admitted Fellow. Who was this?"[2] Every scholar delving into Quaker materials respects Norman Penney's insistence upon historical accuracy. Reference, however, to the actual manuscript records and to the recent research of Dr. Raymond P. Stearns of the University of Illinois proves that the William Penn concerning whom Penney

[1] The reason for this assertion concerning William Penn stems from a footnote of inquiry made by Irvin Goldman in his article on "Deviation toward Ideas of Natural Ethics in the Thought of William Penn" in the *Philological Quarterly* vol. 18 (1939), pp. 337-52. In my *Literary Life of the Early Friends* (Columbia University Press, 1932), p. 64, I had made the statement that William Penn was a contributing member of the Royal Society. Mr. Goldman declared that he had found no other evidence of this fact either in Penn's writings or in biography and criticism and that the note giving authority for this statement was missing. "Elected Fellow" would have been a more accurate description.

Here I can also correct some inaccuracies in Mr. Goldman's textual material. On p. 338 he refers to George Keith, the foremost apostate of Quakerism in the seventeenth century, as James Keith. In addition he has wrongly credited me (pp. 339 and 340) with a translation from Amyraut's *Morale Chrétienne*. The real credit belongs to Mabel Richmond Brailsford and her *Making of William Penn* (Longmans, Green and Co., 1930; see p. 122).

[2] Norman Penney, in *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, vii (1910), p. 30 ff. Penney used the *Record of the Royal Society of London*, Second Edition, 1901. This footnote caused me to send a letter of inquiry to the headquarters of the Royal Society in 1927.

raised the question was the Founder of Pennsylvania.[3] Birch's *History of the Royal Society* indicates that the name of William Penn was proposed for membership on November 2, 1681, and that one week later on November 9, 1681, he was elected.[4] The minutes of the Royal Society of London confirm this statement: on November 2, 1681, "Mr. [John] Houghton propounded William Penn as 'Candidate of this Society,'" and at the next meeting of the Society (November 9, 1681) "he was elected Fellow of the Society."[5]

Still further corroboration of Penn's qualifications is found by his very recent biographer, the late William I. Hull, a member of the Religious Society of Friends, who wrote:

> In addition to his grasp of history, his [William Penn's] scientific knowledge was sufficient to procure him election as a Fellow of the Royal Society; while his keen and comprehensive observations of Pennsylvania's soil and climate, fauna and flora, and aborigines enabled him to write, and doubtless to talk, most interestingly and instructively about them.[6]

In the summer of 1929 Albert Cook Myers, who later published *William Penn's Early Life,* informed me that he had found minor contributions which Penn had sent to the Royal Society.[7]

[3] Dr. Raymond P. Stearns has given me permission to quote from a forthcoming article "Colonial Fellows of the Royal Society in London, 1661-1788" to appear in 1940 in *Osiris,* Publication of the History of Science Society, pp. 1-49. *Osiris* is published in Belgium. Because of war conditions abroad, there has necessarily been a delay in the printing of the article.

[4] I quote from a letter addressed to me, and dated February 13, 1940: "With reference to your letter January 24, 1940, which I received yesterday, I write to confirm your statement that William Penn, the Founder of Pennsylvania, was a Fellow of the Royal Society of London. He was admitted into the Fellowship on November 9, 1681./Yours very truly/ J. D. Griffiths Davies, Assistant Secretary."

[5] *MSS Journal Books* in the Royal Society Library, Burlington House, London, W. I., vii, p. 32.

[6] William I. Hull, *William Penn, A Topical Biography,* Oxford University Press, 1937, p. 317.

[7] Albert Cook Myers, *William Penn's Early Life,* Phila. 1937. Since Dr. Myers was then expecting to publish these in the near future, I thought it best for him to make them public. Ill health has prevented him from completing his contemplated definitive life of William Penn.

In a forthcoming article in *Osiris,* entitled "Colonial Fellows of the Royal Society of London, 1661-1788," Dr. Raymond P. Stearns uses the results of meticulous study of the Journal Books, Council Minutes, Guard-Books, and other manuscripts in the Library of the Royal Society. Dr. Stearns finds that John Winthrop, the younger, of Connecticut, a charter member, was the first Colonial Fellow and that William Penn was the second. He furthermore declares that personally he "entertains no doubt of Penn's election" and "none as regards his identity."[8] The records of the Society, however, indicate that Penn "was rarely present at the meetings." In 1936 Dr. Stearns with the assistance of Henry W. Robinson, Librarian of the Royal Society, discovered in a loose bundle of maps a "Map of Pennsilvania" with an inscription of dedication to the Royal Society, dated November 9, 1681, the exact date on which William Penn was inducted into the Society. Dr. Stearns compared the inscription with manuscript records in the British Museum and in the Friends Reference Libraries and has found the handwriting to be authentically that of William Penn.[9] The formal record appears thus: "At the next weekly meeting of the Society [November 9, 1681] Mr. Houghton presented to the Society from Mr. Penn his map of Pennsilvania for which the Society returned thanks."[10] The manuscript records and the map endorsed by Penn's own hand bear mute witness of Penn's fellowship with the Royal Society of London.

QUAKER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS OR UNPUBLISHED

THE following list of present or recent studies in Quakerism continues the series of such notices that have appeared in recent issues of the BULLETIN. It is of course improbable that the list is complete; but it is interesting as showing where the present frontiers of Quaker research are.

[8] For this statement I have permission to quote from a personal letter written by Dr. Stearns.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] Raymond P. Stearns, "Colonial Fellows of the Royal Society, 1661-1788," to appear in *Osiris* (1940), p. 14.

Information of other Quaker studies in progress but not published should be sent to Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman of the Committee on Historical Research, 7 Buckingham Place, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Charles M. and Evangeline W. Andrews (editors), 424 St. Ronan Street, New Haven, Connecticut. Jonathan Dickinson, *God's Protecting Providence.* (Narrative of shipwreck on the coast of Florida; capture by the Indians; experiences north to St. Augustine, Charles Town and Philadelphia, 1696-97. Originally printed as a Quaker propaganda pamphlet, reprinted fifteen times, 1700-1868. Paper based on the material collected for this edition contributed to the Hull Memorial volume, 1941.) Nearly finished.

John C. Appel, Paradise, Pennsylvania. *Rise and Decline of Quakers in Pennsylvania Education, 1801-1850.* (To discover in a general way the significance of the Quakers before and after the adoption of the Free School Law.) University of Maryland, History, M.A. 1942. Research begun.

William Bennet Barker, 438 West 116th Street, New York, New York. *The Thunder and Consolation of Edward Burrough.* (Burrough as a "type" symptom of seventeenth-century sectarian social and religious unrest.) Columbia University, English Literature, M.A. 1940. Completed.

A. Day Bradley, Hunter College, 695 Park Avenue, New York, New York. *Teaching of Mathematics in Early Friends Schools.* (The extent of mathematical instruction in Friends' schools before 1800.) Research commenced.

Carl Bridenbaugh, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island. Title of study not yet decided; subtitle, *Philadelphia Culture, 1740-1776.* (Study of education, press, literature, arts, patronage, social welfare, medicine, and science, with reference to the prominent part taken by the Quakers.) To be completed by August, 1941.

Robert Graham Caldwell, Sociology Department, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware. *The Penitentiary Movement in Delaware, 1776 to 1829.* (Inquires into the causes of the failure of the penitentiary movement in Delaware and indicates the forces that produced a penological retardation in that State.) Completed.

Meredith B. Colket, Jr., 3432 Ashley Terrace, N. W., Washington, D. C. *Free Society of Traders.* (Historical study of first business corporation in Pennsylvania.) Haverford College, History, M.A., 1940. Completed.

Charles E. Congdon, Salamanca, New York. *Quaker Missions on the Allegheny.* Research partially completed.

Dorothy Dillon, 164 East 82nd Street, New York, New York. *A Century of Religion in Provincial New York, 1623-1720.* (Various religious groups considered from the point of view of their legal status in the province and of the degree of toleration accorded them.) Columbia University, Political Science, M.A. 1940. Completed.

William N. Fenton, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C. *The Records of the Mission to the Seneca Indians on the Upper Allegheny River, 1798, as They Bear upon the Ethnology of the Seneca Tribe.* (Source material for this study found in the printed works of Halliday Jackson, and in the manuscript diaries of Joshua Sharpless, Isaac Coates, Henry Simmons, and John Pierce.) Material still being gathered.

Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert (and the late Russell Pope), Guilford College, North Carolina. *Animadversions of Bossuet upon Quakers and Quietists.* (Preliminary essay growing out of the projected biography of Madame Guyon.) Completed.

Lucy V. Goodwine, 88 Morningside Drive, New York, New York. *Robert Proud and his History of Pennsylvania.* (It is planned to include a biographical study of the author, with an analysis of his sources, method, and purpose in writing the *History of Pennsylvania.*) Columbia University Teachers College, History. Ph.D.

Arthur Hayward, Crutches Cottage, Jordans, Buckinghamshire, England. *History of Jordans.* (Will cover the meeting house and burial ground, Stone Dean (house used by William Penn), The Hostel, modern Jordans Village. Illustrations are planned.)

Thomas Kimber, 849 No. Mariposa Avenue, Los Angeles, California. *The Quaker as Author and Subject in American Literature, 1825-1940.* (The scope of this thesis is at present being confined to a consideration of the creative aspects of Quaker literature, including literature written both by Friends and about Friends.) University of Southern California, English, Ph.D.

Lawrence J. King, Botany Department, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. *Dr. John Thomas Plummer (1807-1865), Quaker Sage.* (A study of the life and times of a pioneer physician and scientist of Richmond, Indiana. The first part of a series on the history of scientific activities in Wayne County, Indiana.) Brief abstract of this study published in *Proceedings of the Indiana Academy of Science,* 49 (1940), p. 62. Research in progress since 1937.

Ethyn Williams Kirby, 30 Medway Street, Providence, Rhode Island. *George Keith.* (A brief biography.) To be published in the spring of 1941 by the Beveridge Memorial Fund of the American Historical Association.

Mazie Langfitt, 1133 Davis Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. *William Tuke's Contribution to the Humane Treatment of the Insane.* (Study of the York Retreat.) University of Pittsburgh, History, M.A. 1937. Material being collected and organized.

Howard T. Lutz, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania. *Text-Book Association of Philadelphia, 1866-1912.* (An account of its aims and activities in securing history textbooks which "do not glorify war" and which presented important facts usually omitted in the other text-books of the time.) Almost completed.

Walter H. Mohr (and Committee of Alumni and Faculty), George School, Bucks County, Pennsylvania. *History of George School.* (A study of the conception, founding, and first fifty years of George School.) Material being collected. To be published in 1943.

W. Rhoads Murphey, III, 520 E. Moreland Avenue, Chestnut Hill, Pennsylvania. *John Woolman's Social Theory.* (Gives attention to the relation of Woolman's social theory to his religious nature, and attempts to evaluate his significance in the history of ideas.) Harvard University, History, A.B. 1941. Material being collected.

Frieda M. Persky, 1345 - 54th Street, Brooklyn, New York. *Liberty of Conscience in Quaker Tracts, 1660-1680.* (Reasons for religious freedom as propounded by Quakers, analyzed and categorized as political, social, moral, and economic.) Columbia University, English, M.A., 1936. Completed.

Domingo Ricart, Woodbrooke, Selly Oak, Birmingham, England. *Contacts between Quakerism and the Spanish Mystics.* Considerable material collected.

Frederick B. Tolles, 65 Langdon Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts. *A Literary Quaker: John Smith of Burlington and Philadelphia.* (A study of the literary culture of a colonial Quaker.) Manuscript completed but awaiting revision.

Fred J. Tritton, Friends House, Euston Road, London N. W. 1, England. *The Development of a World Sense in the Society of Friends.* (From the earliest times to the World Consultative Committee.) To be published as a pamphlet. Material collected up to 1860.

ARTICLES IN QUAKER PERIODICALS

By Thomas E. Drake

The Friend (London)

"QUAKER CHRISTMAS," by Reginald L. Hine, is an interesting account of the Quaker opposition to Christmas, which arose in the period when the Puritan Parliament itself prohibited celebration of Christmas in 1652, and only disappeared in the gradual relaxing of Quaker testimonies against music, art, and other amenities in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Dec. 20, 1940, pp. 697-698.

The bicentenary of the invention of "crucible steel" is the occasion for a brief note concerning its Quaker inventor, Benjamin Huntsman. Dec. 27, 1940, p. 707.

"The Message of Whittier for To-Day," by Doris N. Dalglish, is a brief essay on Whittier as a poet in wartime, with notes on his resignation in the face of the American Civil War, and with the recommendation that English Friends re-read his poems, which show "unexpected versatility and scope." Jan. 31, 1941, pp. 50-51.

"James Rendel Harris: 1852-1941" is a memorial and biographical essay (with a portrait) by Herbert G. Wood, who succeeded Rendel Harris at Woodbrooke. March 7, 1941, pp. 115-118.

The Friend (Philadelphia)

"JOHN WELLS and Adna Heaton: Early American Exponents of Quaker Pacifism," by Robert H. Morgan, is an analysis of the writings of two little known Quaker pacifist authors of the period of the War of 1812. Wells's *Essay on War* (1812), and Heaton's *War and Christianity Contrasted* (1816), were both published by the Quaker publishing house of Samuel Wood & Sons in New York. They both attacked war from a religious point of view, Wells rather heavily and Heaton with a good deal of literary skill. It would be interesting to know more of the lives of these two men themselves than Robert Morgan gives us here. Ninth Month 19, 1940, pp. 89-93.

The biography of "Eliza Yeates: Pioneer in Work for Freedmen," by J. Henry Bartlett, gives a most interesting glimpse into the life and motives of a devoted Quaker woman. Ninth Month 19, 1940, pp. 93-97.

"Barclay's Conception of Christ," by Robert C. English, summarizes and re-examines the ideas as to the place of Christ in man's salvation

which were developed in Barclay's *Apology*. Tenth Month 3, 1940, pp. 119-122.

"Music in School: a Part of Our Cultural Heritage," is a brief account of the introduction of music at Germantown Friends' School by Stanley R. Yarnall, and a statement as to the present character of music education in the school. Twelfth Month 12, 1940, pp. 209-212.

Robert Barrow's account of the death and burial of George Fox, which was printed in various early sources, is gathered together and edited by Thomas E. Drake. A poem, "The Death of George Fox," by William Bacon Evans, gives a modern interpretation of what may have happened on the thirteenth day of January, 1690/1. First Month 9, 1941, pp. 248-250; 250-252.

"Tea at the White House" is an account by Walter F. Price, architect of the Florida Avenue Meeting House in Washington, of some of the events on the day of the laying of the cornerstone on Twelfth Month 20, 1930. First Month 20, 1941, pp. 359-360.

In "Shadow and Substance," Dorothy Lyold Gilbert discusses the mysticism of Isaac Penington. Third Month 20, 1941.

Friends Intelligencer

CHARLES F. JENKINS presented a slate from Worminghurst, Penn's home in England from 1677 to 1697, to Pennsbury on June 8, 1940. The slate was the gift of Mr. and Mrs. William Hansbury Agge, who now occupy Worminghurst. Sixth Month 29, 1940, pp. 412-413.

A picture of the Florida Avenue Meeting House, which was opened for worship on January 4, 1931, is supplemented by a discussion of the character and function of this "Friends Meeting of Washington, D. C." by Sina M. Stanton. Sixth Month 29, 1940, p. 413.

Four new meeting houses are described in illustrated articles. The Cambridge Meeting House, at 5 Longfellow Park, was built in 1937 to house the independent meeting which has centered around Harvard University (Fifth Month 25, 1940, pp. 331-332). At Montclair, New Jersey, an independent meeting was organized in 1925 and a meeting house erected in 1932 (Sixth Month 8, 1940, pp. 363-364). State College, Pennsylvania, has had meetings for worship since 1909. In 1925 an independent meeting was established, and the meeting house was completed in 1927 (Sixth Month 22, 1940, pp. 396-397). Westtown Meeting House at Westtown School, Pennsylvania, was dedicated in 1929 (Seventh Month 13, 1940, pp. 445-446).

Longwood Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends held its eighty-eighth and final meeting on September 7-8, 1940, in the old Longwood Meeting House near Kennett Square. The funds of the Yearly Meeting have been invested to establish a Longwood Association Lectureship, to further the "gospel of freedom and equality" for which Longwood was established in 1853. Eighth Month 31, 1940, p. 565.

"A Friends Meeting in the Civil War" is an account of a meeting at the Fairfax Meeting House in Loudoun County, Virginia, in the winter of 1861, at which Friends held their regular First-day meeting in spite of the fact that two companies of Confederate cavalry were bivouaced in the building. Ninth Month 29, 1940, p. 613.

"William Penn's 'Just Man'" is a sketch of Isaac Penington and his relations with Penn, by M. Whitcomb Hess. Eleventh Month 23, 1940, pp. 753-754.

"Detroit Meeting Lives Again" is a report by Sydney A. Hunt, Assistant Clerk, of the decline of the Independent Meeting in Detroit, and its revival during the last two years. Eleventh Month 30, 1940, p. 774.

"The Quaker Strain in George Bancroft," by Russel B. Nye, elaborates the theory that although Bancroft was not a Friend, his life and historical writings were strongly influenced by the doctrines of Friends which he described sympathetically in the second volume of his great *History of the United States*. Twelfth Month 7, 1940, pp. 786-789.

The American Friend

DOROTHY LLOYD GILBERT's continued interest in early Quaker mysticism is exemplified in an article on "Penington the Mystic." April 25, 1940, pp. 172-173.

The old Whitewater Meeting House in Richmond, Indiana, was rededicated, after an improvement program, at a meeting on April 14, 1940. April 25, 1940, p. 180.

The centennial anniversary of the Barclay Society was celebrated by Friends of New Bedford, Massachusetts, on January 1, 1941. The Society was founded a hundred years ago to sew for the needy of the town, to the accompaniment of reading aloud from Quaker writers, particularly from Robert Barclay's *Apology*. March 13, 1941, p. 117.

On March 22, 1941, the cornerstone for the new St. Petersburg, Florida, Meeting House was laid. April 10, 1941, p. 166.

WHITTIER AND NEBRASKA

By Charles Arthur Hawley

I. Whittier and the Bellevue Presbyterians

TWO FRENCH explorers, Pierre and Paul Mallet, first ascended the Missouri River in June 1739, to the point where Bellevue is now located, in Sarpy county, Nebraska, a little below Omaha. The settlement, in fact, received its name from the exclamation of delight which the French expressed on seeing the view from this place later described by visitors as unsurpassed by anything in Switzerland. "La belle vue," cried the French and the location was so christened. Until 1803 this portion of the country was under the rule of France. After the Louisiana Purchase what is now Nebraska became part of the United States. Following the acquisition by the United States exploration began in earnest.

In July 1804 Lewis and Clark visited Bellevue, although the first permanent settlement was not made until 1810, when a trading post was established here by the American Fur Company founded by John Jacob Astor. General Peter A. Sarpy, from whom the county is named, presided over the trading post and bought furs from the Indians for beads, blankets, and other things. These furs were sent down the Missouri to St. Louis, whence they reached the East. In 1830 the Omaha Indians found the trading so interesting that they settled in a village at Bellevue on the south bank of the Papillion Creek. General Sarpy married an Omaha Indian woman, thus strengthening the ties between the whites and Indians.

Lucius Fontenelle, a learned Frenchman from St. Louis, like Sarpy married an Omaha Indian woman. Their son, Logan Fontenelle, educated like his father in St. Louis, later returned to his mother's people and became their chief, acting as intermediary between the Indians and the whites. Known as "the white man's friend," he helped formulate the treaty which ceded the land of the Omahas to the Government, except a reservation of 640 acres which later was deeded to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church. In July 1855 the Omahas left Bellevue for a buffalo hunt, during which they were sur-

prised by a party of Sioux. In the skirmish which followed, Chief Fontenelle was killed, to the grief of both his mother's people, the Indians, and his father's people, the whites. The name Fontenelle has been given to numerous buildings and districts in Omaha and adjacent territory to commemorate him.

Mission work among the Indians began very early at Bellevue. The Baptists came in 1833 and others followed. In 1834 the Rev. John Dunbar and Samuel Allis established a Presbyterian mission in Bellevue for the Omaha, Otoe, and Pawnee Indians. In 1838 Rev. Simeon E. Peck came to work with the Indians. Among his books he brought with him the Commentaries of Matthew Henry in the first American edition, with an introduction by Archibald Alexander of Princeton. Each Presbyterian missionary emphasized learning. In 1846 Rev. Edmund McKinney took charge of the mission and built a mission house of cottonwood logs during the years 1847-48. On June 6, 1853, Rev. William Hamilton came to Bellevue from Kansas, where he had carried on mission work among the Indians. "Father Hamilton" was sent by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, of which Hon. Walter Lowrie, a former United States Senator from Pennsylvania, was secretary, and William Rankin of New Jersey was treasurer.

A new day dawned for the whole region when "Father Hamilton" came in 1853. Interested in letters, he wrote poetry, and raised the intellectual level of the pioneer community. The year following the coming of Hamilton, Nebraska was organized as a Territory. In 1855 the first legislature met at Bellevue, and President Pierce appointed Francis Burt of South Carolina the Territory's first governor. Arriving at the mission in Bellevue on October 6, 1854, he died twelve days later. Governor Burt intended to establish the capital at Bellevue, but his successor, T. B. Cuming, desired to have Mr. Hamilton grant him 150 acres of mission land on which to establish the capital. This Mr. Hamilton refused to do, and acting Governor Cuming removed the capital to Omaha, where it stayed until its removal to Lincoln in 1867.

During this period Peter Sarpy established a ferry between Bellevue and St. Marys, on the Iowa side of the river. The

wo towns flourished together. When the Bellevue *Palladium,* Nebraska's first newspaper, was founded by Daniel E. Reed in 854 and was read by the Iowans across the river, it supplanted he *St. Marys Gazette.* The Bellevue *Palladium,* serving two rontier towns, carried the following editorial in the issue for November 15, 1854:

ST. MARY

St. Mary, situated opposite Bellevue, is one of the prettiest and best town-sites on the Missouri River, and is being settled quite rapidly, by an intelligent and wealthy population. There is a good steamboat landing on both sides of the river at that place.

Daniel E. Reed was the first postmaster of Bellevue, receiving the appointment January 15, 1855. Mr. and Mrs. Reed had come to Bellevue in the fall of 1847 as teachers in the Presbyterian mission school. Together with Thomas Morton he published the *Palladium,* which was the first newspaper not only of Bellevue but of Nebraska territory. It was first issued in Bellevue about the middle of November, 1854, the first fifteen numbers having been printed at St. Mary on the Iowa side of the river. The full name of the paper was the *Nebraska Palladium and Platte Valley Advocate.* It was discontinued on April 11, 1855.[1]

Daniel E. Reed, Thomas Morton, and William Hamilton all admired Whittier and introduced his poems into the *Nebraska Palladium* in its first year. In the issue for Wednesday, October 11, 1854, appears "The Kansas Emigrants"[2] by "J. Whittier." Evidently the *National Era* was read in Bellevue and St. Mary as well as further east in Iowa, since "The Kansas Emigrants" first appeared in the latter paper in July 1854. In the same issue of the *Palladium* appears an article on the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society, in which Whittier was greatly interested. This Society was first established as the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company and in 1855 became the New England Emigrant Aid Company. At the time of Whittier's death Edward Everett Hale made the following statement, which was published in the

[1] J. S. Morton, *Illustrated History of Nebraska,* Lincoln 1905, p. 179.

[2] See *Complete Poetical Works of John Greenleaf Whittier,* published by Houghton, Mifflin and Company, Boston and New York, in many editions (usually called the Cambridge Edition), p. 317. Hereafter references for Whittier's poems will be to this edition, published 1895, under the name "Cambridge edn."

Boston Evening Transcript and again in the *Boston Weekly Transcript:* [3]

> When, in 1854, the gods made mad the leaders of the Southern oligarchy of America, and in the practical business of the settlement of Kansas, there was at last opened something which the men and women of the North could do. A party of some forty New Englanders left Boston for what was then the wilderness of Kansas with the proud object of making a free State. They took their lives in their hands, and many of them paid with their lives for that noble rashness which sent them there, in defiance of the whole power of the national government as it was then administered. Some of the wisest men of the North regarded this adventure as madness. Forty people, with a capital of hardly twenty thousand dollars behind them, were to go fifteen hundred miles, to defy that organization of slave-holders which, from the necessity of the case, would act with absolute unity against them. At that moment Mr. Whittier printed the song of the "Kansas Emigrants" . . .
>
> The words of that song were sung in railway cars and in cabins built of sods of mud. And where the song was not sung, the words were repeated and remembered as the simple and convenient creed of the movement which, in fact, was the first wave of the flood which overwhelmed the system of slavery. To perceive at the instant the importance of the movement, to forecast its success, and to encourage those who personally engaged in its hardships—this was the contribution of what we call a seer or a poet in the great struggle of the time. It is literally by a thousand such contributions that Mr. Whittier made his mark in that great revolution which, for the first time, made the United States a nation.

In the issue for October 25, 1854, the *Palladium* published "The Poor Voter on Election Day," [4] by John G. Whittier. This poem, popular on the frontier, had first been published in the *National Era* in December 1852 and reprinted in *The Chapel of the Hermits, and Other Poems* in 1853. The editors probably took it from the latter. By this time the *Palladium* was widely read in Iowa, since letters from Iowans frequently appear. On November 15, 1854, the *Palladium* printed "The Seer," by J. G. Whittier. "The Seer," in eleven stanzas, appeared in the *Boston Museum,* October 19, 1850, in exactly the same form. The

[3] In the issues of Sept. 7 and Sept. 9, 1892, respectively.

[4] Cambridge edn. p. 374.

John Greenleaf Whittier
Bust in the Hall of Fame, Sculptured by Rudulph Evans

same poem, entitled "On Receiving an Eagle's Quill from Lake Superior," [5] first appeared in the *National Era* on February 8, 1849, and was reprinted in *Songs of Labor, and Other Poems,* in 1850. This excerpt, entitled "Going Ahead," was reprinted in precisely the same form and number of stanzas in the issue of the *Palladium* for Wednesday, February 26, 1855, under the caption "Going Ahead, by John G. Whittier." It is important to note in this connection that the title "Going Ahead" had been used for Whittier's "On Receiving an Eagle's Quill from Lake Superior" in the *Golden Era,* San Francisco, July 2, 1865. This poem was greatly beloved by the pioneers; its popularity may account for its appearance in part under two titles. It was the custom of the frontier papers to borrow poems, whole or in part, and reprint them under new titles; then one editor borrowed from another as in the case of the *Golden Era.* The geography of the poem evidently refers to the Pictured Rocks on the shore of Lake Superior, and to St. Mary's River, which connects Lake Superior and Lake Huron. All the New Englanders were much interested in this northern region which Emerson and Thoreau visited and about which Longfellow wrote.

The Rev. William Hamilton, the admirer of Whittier, now of the Presbyterian Mission, began publishing his poems in the *Palladium.* Since his work was mainly for the Indians he expressed his sorrow for them in the issue of December 6, 1854, in a poem entitled "The Dying Song of the Last Redman." Believing that the white men were demoralizing the Indians, Mr. Hamilton set about organizing a white church, which came into being and held its first service in the spring of 1855. The Nebraska work was under the jurisdiction of the Synod of Iowa until 1858, when the Presbytery of Omaha was formed. At the time of its organization the Presbytery of Omaha included all the territory north of the Platte River. In this Presbytery William Hamilton, poet and preacher, at first organized a congregation from members of the Omaha tribe. This church, known as the Blackbird Hill Presbyterian Church, was named for the famous Indian Chief, Blackbird. While ministering to the Indians he learned the language of the Omaha tribe thor-

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 144.

oughly, and spent much time translating the gospel hymns from English into Omaha. When he had completed this arduous task he was advised by the Government agents not to use them. Between his own compositions and translations he studied Whittier, and through his interest many of Whittier's poems found their way into the *Palladium,* which was read by all the Nebraska pioneers.

On Wednesday, December 13, 1854, "A Dream of Summer" [6] by J. G. Whittier appeared in the *Palladium.* This poem had appeared originally in the *National Era* in January 1847 and was reprinted in *Poems* in 1849. Composed in only four stanzas, this poem seems not to have suffered any changes.

Alfred Sorenson, the first historian of Omaha, records in his *Early History of Omaha* that "the first grave in Omaha was dug by William P. Snowden, where Turner Hall now stands, for the remains of an old Otoe squaw, who had been abandoned to die by the roadside.[7] Sorenson, who was city editor of the *Omaha Daily Bee,* was an admirer of Whittier, and as he saw the city expanding until it covered the site where the old Indian woman had been buried, he thought of his favorite poet and quoted the following from Whittier's oft quoted poem, "On Receiving an Eagle's Quill from Lake Superior":

> Behind the scared squaw's birch canoe
> The steamer smokes and raves;
> And city lots are staked for sale
> Above old Indian graves.

This poem, published in 1849 under the above title, was constantly reprinted in the frontier papers, in excerpts, and under various titles, as has already been pointed out.

II. Whittier and the Nebraska Quakers

SINCE the Society of Friends in Nebraska is so closely interwoven with Central City, the story of that city's origin is necessary to a proper understanding of the influence of Whittier.

When the Oregon Trail passed through Nebraska one of the landmarks in the Platte valley was a large cottonwood tree on

[6] *Ibid.,* p. 143. [7] *Early History of Omaha,* Omaha, 1876, p. 38.

the open prairie. This tree, under which the Indians held their councils before any white man crossed the Mississippi, was known as the "solitary guardian of the Platte." This "lone tree" was described again and again by the pioneers. One description has been preserved as follows in a book now scarce and difficult to find: "In its prime it was a glorious tree—a typical cottonwood, between three and four feet in diameter at stump height, and twenty feet to the first limb. . . . It was visible for twenty miles up and down the river. . . . It was a noted landmark in the old days of overland travel and was known in every town and hamlet from the Atlantic to the Pacific.[8]

In 1858 a station on the stagecoach line was established at Lone Tree. In the fall of the same year, 1858, the year in which Omaha Presbytery was organized, the Legislature passed an act defining the boundaries of the newly established counties. This act brought into being Merrick county in the Platte valley. The name curiously was given the new county by Henry W. De Puy of Omaha, the speaker of the House of Representatives, from the maiden name of his wife. The part of Nebraska in which Merrick county lies had been for over a thousand years the feeding ground of hordes of buffalo, antelope, and elk, and thus one of the great hunting and battle grounds of the Indians. The first settler in Lone Tree, James Vieregg, came from Germany, as had many of the Nebraska pioneers. The lure of gold drew Vieregg with others to California, whence he returned to Lone Tree and took a homestead in 1859. The Platte, then a shallow river nearly a mile wide, had no bridge in the county until 1875; the necessity of fording brought many tales of duckings but occasioned no drownings. Today in Merrick county the Platte is nearly dry, its water being drawn off further west for irrigation made necessary by repeated droughts.

The early settlers in Merrick county suffered much from the Indians, drought, and grasshoppers. Not until the railroad followed the Platte valley route did the hard life of the pioneers change. In July 1866 the Union Pacific passed through Merrick county, and large numbers of settlers sought the rich fertile soil.

[8] C. E. Persinger, *History of Merrick County (Nebraska) from the Beginning to 1895.* Privately printed; n. d. Page 2.

In this same year a great revival took place and the first religious society in the county was formed. In the fall of 1869 the Rev. David Marquette, a Methodist, came to Lone Tree to hold another revival. Finding no suitable place for the meetings he preached with great success in a saloon. Out of the work of David Marquette there developed the first college in that part of the country. The Methodist work, however, did not become firmly started until 1871. In 1872 the Baptists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists came. Later the Congregationalists federated with the Presbyterians, who formed one of the most influential churches in Nebraska. In the years 1874-75 severe grasshopper plagues wrought havoc with the pioneers, but their courage never failed.

With the development of the railroad Lone Tree became the metropolis of that section of the prairie and in 1875 decided that it should have a more dignified name. The residents of the town accordingly sent a petition "to the Honorable Samuel Maxwell, Judge of the Third Judicial District of the State of Nebraska," requesting that they be given a new name, Central City:

> The name of Central City is a more appropriate name, as our town is centrally located in the agricultural region of this our glorious state; and we have every prospect (if not burdened with the ominous name of Lone Tree) of becoming a city whose turrets and spires shall attract many to us, who finding a city so centrally located in so goodly a land will take up their abiding places among us and help to increase the honor of our state and the prosperity of our city.[9]

This request was dated at Lone Tree "this 13th day of January, A.D. 1875." The decision was handed down on February 24, 1875, and Lone Tree became Central City.

The coming of Rev. David Marquette to Lone Tree in the fall of 1869 and the revival meetings he held in a saloon opened the way for an ambitious plan by the pioneer Methodists. This plan eventually developed into the firm determination to establish a college or seminary on the Nebraska prairie. Finally in September 1884 a commission from the North Nebraska Conference voted to locate and establish an institution of learning within the bounds of the Conference. An announcement stated that any locality

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 82.

desiring the institution might apply, "but that no application would be considered that would not endow the institution with a gift of at least twenty thousand dollars either in land or money.[10] Central City seemed the logical place for the new institution and the town wanted it.

The year 1869, which marked the coming of the Methodist Rev. David Marquette, also marked the coming of the Quakers. Some few Quaker pioneers from Iowa had already come into Nebraska, but when President Grant on March 6, 1869, asked the Friends for a list of names to serve as Indian agents, the Society of Friends found its strength west of the Missouri River. Asa and Samuel M. Janney, Isaiah Lightner, and others came to Nebraska to put an end to the political stench that had come from the corrupt handling of Indian affairs. The Santee, Pawnee, Otoe, Winnebago, and Omaha tribes were immediately concerned. Samuel M. Janney reached Omaha in May 1869 and gave his memorable speech to the Indians. Janney was to Nebraska what William Penn was to Pennsylvania. The Quakers determined to bring civilization to the Indians where before the corrupt political appointees had brought demoralization. One of the most memorable acts of Grant's administration was the appointment of the Quakers to the Indian work. The Quakers believed in Grant's sincerity and continued the work until his retirement from office, when they sensed more corrupt politics and asked to be relieved from the task. But the honest behavior of the Friends in Nebraska endeared the Society not only to the prairie State but to all the West. From 1869 Quaker settlements spread throughout the region. These settlements proved great blessings to the Indians, who trusted and loved these honest and peaceful pioneers, destined in due time to inherit the foundation laid by David Marquette.

Bordering Central City on the northwest in 1869 was a section of unoccupied prairie, "a beautiful plateau," at one time considered as the possible location for the capitol building. This land was purchased in December 1884 and accepted by the Conference as the site of "the North Nebraska Conference Seminary." Work began at once on the new buildings; the cornerstone of the

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 107.

college building was laid July 28, 1885, and classes met in it on January 11, 1886, the college having formally begun work in the fall of 1885. The Methodists now determined to found a great university and establish it at the capitol at Lincoln. The prairie region was too poor and sparsely settled to support two schools and that at Central City soon began to decline. The first president of the Methodist college was Dr. J. B. Maxfield, 1885-1887. When signs of an early decline became evident, the valiant David Marquette was called to put new life into it. Marquette served for a few months and was followed in rapid succession by Rev. J. W. Shank, Rev. H. A. Crane, and Rev. F. W. Ware, who piloted the college through till the June of 1890. Because of severe financial difficulties, the college did not reopen in the fall. In 1891 Rev. J. A. Smith came to the rescue and served as president for one year, but the hard times were too much for the prairie Methodists and the college officially closed at the end of the summer session in August 1892.

When the college officially closed, the tract of land and the college building stood on the prairie, and the region began to wonder what would happen. The Methodist tract contained 640 acres, and the college building had cost $54,000. In the meantime a brewer in Omaha began to make inquiries and proposed to establish a brewery in place of the college in Central City. This proposal outraged the soul of a local man, James Stephen, who recalled the tradition of David Marquette and determined no brewery should ever desecrate the campus of a Methodist college. To carry out his belief he sold all his property, even his home, and purchased the property to save the college buildings from becoming a brewery. He then moved his family into the basement of the college building to await the coming of the Friends.[11]

Some years earlier the Friends had penetrated into the Platte valley, and on June 26, 1898, a committee met at Clarks, Nebraska, at the home of John Cole, and spent the day in conference and prayer. The members of the committee were Turner

[11] For this and the following information relative to the Friends' settlement and the establishment of their college at Central City, the present writer is indebted to the faculty of Nebraska Central College, who have placed their records and memories at his disposal.

L. Able, Charles White, John Cole, Elwood Knight, Benjamin Able, and Herbert Mott. These names must always stand high in the roll of pioneer Friends. Herbert Mott especially was the ideal home missions worker. He was to the Quakers of Central City what David Marquette was to the Methodists. Herbert Mott, writing of the meeting later, said:

> Wonderfully the divine presence filled the place where we were assembled. With a great reach of faith that almost startled ourselves, we determined unanimously to establish a school of the Prophets. We had no money but a far greater treasure, an Unlimited Almighty God.[12]

Herbert Mott had come to the Platte valley as a Quaker missionary in November 1889. He was a friend of Lawrie Tatum, who was a worker in the Indian cause, and a friend of Whittier, who kept constantly in touch with the developments in Nebraska as with those in Iowa. In fact, the work in Nebraska at first was a part of the Iowa work. The Quaker settlements in Nebraska, as has already been pointed out, were an outgrowth of the coming of the Quakers under Grant's appointment.

Isaiah Lightner, one of Grant's appointees, settled at Genoa and worked for the establishment of the first Friends' meeting in Nebraska, organized on August 18, 1877. A meeting at Lincoln was organized soon thereafter. Quaker settlements in northeast Nebraska followed, first with a Sunday school and a preparative meeting at Springbank; and in 1882 a meeting was established at Springbank by Pleasant Plain Quarter of the Iowa Yearly Meeting. As early as 1873 a preparative meeting was held at Pleasant Ridge under the direction of Iowa; and in 1886 Tobias was organized under the direction of the Kansas Yearly Meeting. Pleasant View, organized in 1889, suffered much, like Tobias, from recurrent droughts and crop failures. Clarks, Bates, and Gosper were organized about 1889. The Hiawatha Monthly Meeting, of Iowa, helped during this period through Lawrie Tatum. In 1890 the Hiawatha Quarterly Meeting opened an academy which declined during the severe droughts of 1890 and 1894, so that Herbert Mott went East to raise funds. More groups were organized during the next few years as follows:

[12] Herbert Mott: Manuscript in possession of President Ora W. Carrell, of Nebraska Central College.

Center, Alda, Clarks, Prairie View in 1894; Schauppsville in 1895; Pleasant Hill in 1896; North Loupe in 1898.

In the meantime the Quaker groups felt the need for a college west of the Missouri and north of the Kansas line. Following the June conference at Clarks, negotiations began with James Stephen, who was becoming a "convinced Friend." During the year 1899 the Nebraska Quakers bought the college property at Central City and the land adjoining. On June 26, 1899, Nebraska Central College was dedicated "to the service of youth and the glory of God."

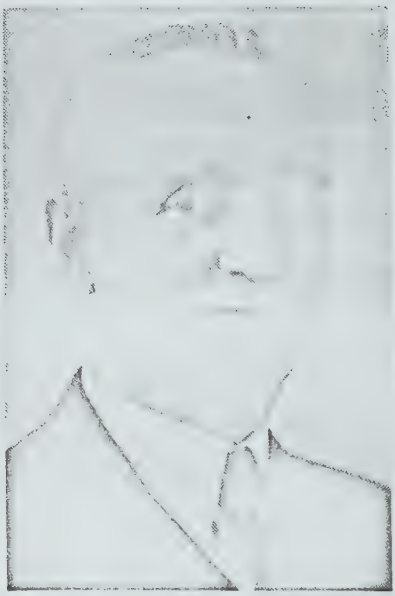
In 1898 central and western Nebraska had two quarterly meetings and sixteen monthly meetings, all of which were still a part of the Iowa Yearly Meeting; but the distance proved too great for the Nebraska Friends to attend the Iowa Yearly Meeting. In the southern part of Nebraska some of the monthly meetings belonged to the Kansas Yearly Meeting, and the members of these meetings found the distance too great to attend the Kansas Yearly Meeting. The members of the various groups, however, did make great efforts to attend. For example when the quarterly meeting was held at North Loupe in May 1898 some persons drove fifty miles and others seventy-five miles to attend.[13] Stories are told of farm boys who walked ten to fifteen miles to attend meeting after a hard day's work in the fields. Visiting Friends came from Oskaloosa, Iowa. All this time Lawrie Tatum kept in touch with the Nebraska work from his home in Springdale, Iowa.

Since the meetings in Nebraska were so scattered and the distances from Iowa and Kansas so great, and a rallying point was needed for the new college, it seemed wise for Nebraska to have its own Yearly Meeting. Accordingly there was organized and incorporated in October 1898 "The Nebraska Church and Educational Association," to "bring all meetings and memberships into acquaintance, intelligent relation and cooperation in the great home mission field in Nebraska, . . . to foster our educational interests and direct their development."[14]

The first regular meeting of the Nebraska Church and Educational Association was held at Central City, June 20-27, 1899.

[13] *The American Friend,* June 1898.

[14] *The Nebraska Friend,* November 1902.



President Ora W. Carrell
of Nebraska Central College

Nebraska Central College, at Central City, Nebraska

President Rosenburger of Penn College, Oskaloosa, Iowa, gave advice and counsel. One of the first acts of the Association was to found *The Nebraska Friend,* a monthly magazine to serve as a catalog and advertising agency for the new college, and to acquaint Friends with each other in the scattered Nebraska communities. The first editor of *The Nebraska Friend* was Herbert Mott, who served also as acting president of Nebraska Central College. In 1905 the Denver, Colorado, Quarterly Meeting of Friends joined the Nebraska Church and Educational Association, thus uniting Nebraska with Colorado and the Dakotas. Herbert Mott, the zealous missionary, served the wider field.

The Nebraska Friend began in June 1899 with Herbert Mott as editor; from April until September 1899 he was acting president of the college. The new magazine continued to perpetuate the work and influence of Whittier. The December issue quotes Whittier's

> Strike, Thou the Master, we Thy keys,
> The anthem of the destinies!
> The minor of Thy loftier strain,
> Our hearts shall breathe the old refrain,
> Thy will be done![15]

It is interesting to note that the same issue quotes Dr. W. T. Harris. The issue for July 1901 speaks thus of Whittier:

> Our own sweet singer, Whittier, beautifully puts the thought as follows
>
> I pray the prayer of Plato old,—
> God make thee *beautiful within,*
> And let thine eyes the good behold
> In everything save sin.[16]

The issue for October 1901 mentions the Ionian Literary Society, which had been organized in the winter of 1900. Unfortunately no minutes of the literary societies of the college have been preserved, with the result that it is impossible to determine how much emphasis was put on the study of Whittier.

In September 1899 Herbert Mott had been succeeded in the presidency of the college by D. Riley Haworth, who had come from Maryville College. He was followed in turn by David

[15] From "Thy Will be Done"; see Cambridge edn. p. 333.
[16] From "My Namesake"; see Cambridge edn. p. 393.

Bennett Gilbert, who served until 1902 and was succeeded by Samuel L. Haworth, also from Maryville. The presidencies were brief; Emmett E. Hadley succeeded in 1903 and was followed by Eli H. Parisho from Salem, Iowa, who served until 1908. It was the customary thing for the president of the college, assisted by an assistant editor and business manager, to act as editor of *The Nebraska Friend*. The Friends of Nebraska continued as did the Friends of Iowa to try to banish the saloon. The issue of April 1904 prints an article, "The Saloon is going," representing the attitude which Whittier had begun in New England periodicals so long before.[17]

In the fall of 1909 the college organized the Whittierian Literary Society, further to honor the memory and ideals of Whittier. The society as first organized included senior academy class students, college students, and faculty. *The Nebraska Friend* carried notices of the meetings, receptions etc. given by the Society.

The issue of *The Nebraska Friend* for December 1910 carried an "autobiography of Allen Jay," who had worked both for Whittier College at Salem, Iowa, and for the cause of education in Nebraska.[18] Today Jay's photograph hangs in the chapel at Nebraska Central College. The issue of *The Nebraska Friend* for October 1911 carries a headline: "The Whittierian Literary Society has been dissolved." This meant a reorganization to include only college students and faculty members who desired to join. A new literary society, the Delphian, was then organized for academy students. Both the Whittierian and the Delphian Society continued active until the spring of 1928. The issue of *The Nebraska Friend* for November 1911 carried an article about the "Whittier Fellowship Group, who met in Whittier-Land in the summer of 1911." Nothing relating to Whittier, however far away, escaped notice at the Nebraska College. The issue for October 1912 notes that "both literary societies, the Delphian and Whittierian, have their organizations completed and are doing excellent work." In the meantime Stacy J. McCracken had succeeded Eli H. Parisho in

[17] For details of the Friends' attitude toward the liquor problem see article by the present writer, "The Growth of Whittier's Reputation in Iowa" in *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association*, vol. 28 (1929), p. 78 f.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

1908 as president and continued in office until 1911; following him came John H. Hadley, who served for a few months, and Stephen Hanton Myrick and Floyd W. Parisho, who served one year each. In 1917 Homer J. Coppock became president and served until 1921; he was followed by Ora W. Carrell, who has proved himself to be an able executive, untiring in his work for the college. During the life of the college there has been much interest in missions. The issue of *The Nebraska Friend* for January 1914 speaks of George Sherwood Eddy and missions in India.

The July issue is notable because of the letter which the Nebraska Yearly Meeting sent to President Woodrow Wilson through its clerk, John Fry, commending his and Bryan's stand on "the situation in Mexico." The following reply was received:

The White House, Washington

June 12, 1914

Personal

Dear Sir:

The President asks to make cordial acknowledgment to yours and Mr. Thomas' letter of June 8, and to assure you and all concerned that he very deeply appreciates the good will of the Nebraska Yearly Meeting of the Friends' Church.

Thanking you warmly in the President's behalf for your kindness in writing, I am

Sincerely yours,
J. P. Tumulty
Secretary to the President

John Fry, Clerk
Nebraska Yearly Meeting of Friends,
Central City, Nebraska

The issue for October 1914 printed "The Quaker of the Olden Time," [19] by J. G. Whittier, four stanzas beginning:

The Quaker of the olden time!
How calm and firm and true,
Unspotted by its wrong and crime,
He walked the dark earth through.

[19] Cambridge edn. p. 351.

The issue for November published in full President Wilson's Thanksgiving Proclamation. The issue of January 1915 gave an account of the Whittierian and Delphian literary societies, which were very active. Special attention was given to the elaborate Christmas program given on December 17, 1914. But times were getting difficult for *The Nebraska Friend,* and the issue of May 15 carried a long article entitled "Shall we continue the Nebraska Friend?" The article pleaded for the Yearly Meeting to get behind the paper or drop it. The matter came before the Eighth Annual Yearly Meeting, held at Central City June 1915. It was then voted to discontinue *The Nebraska Friend* and to take a page in the *American Friend* to carry the news of the college and the Nebraska Yearly Meeting. Thus came to an end one of the most interesting pioneer ventures the Quakers have undertaken.[20] But the college continues ministering to the entire region west of the Missouri River north of the Kansas line. It is today one of the most interesting colleges in the United States.

III. Whittier and Omaha

ON MAY 30, 1854, Nebraska became an organized Territory, and almost immediately thereafter the Council Bluffs and Nebraska Ferry Company chose a site for the future city of Omaha and had a survey made. By September 1854 lots were being sold or given to those who promised to "improve" them. "A brick building, suitable for the Territorial legislature" was immediately planned, and many settlers of prominence came across the Missouri. Among these were Rev. Reuben Gaylord and Rev. Peter Cooper. The latter, a Methodist, was the first to preach a sermon in Omaha, the service being held August 13, 1854. The first newspaper for the embryonic city was the *Omaha Arrow,* which issued its first number July 28, 1854, and its first issue, like that of the Bellevue *Palladium,* was printed on the Iowa side of the river.

The Presbyterians erected the first church building in Bellevue, Nebraska's oldest town; but the Congregationalists have the honor

[20] The present writer expresses most gratefully his thanks to Professor Milo Crosby, Librarian at Nebraska Central College, for assistance in going through the complete file of *The Nebraska Friend.*

f building the first church in Omaha. The famous Reuben Gaylord served as the first pastor of the Omaha Congregational Church. Born in 1812 in Norfolk, Connecticut, educated under Rev. Joseph Emerson, graduated from Yale in 1834, he accepted a call to the frontier school known as Illinois College, at Jacksonville, Illinois, and began his work as teacher in 1835. This college was the outgrowth of the missionary zeal of a group of students at Yale Theological Seminary who banded together in 1827 to preach the Gospel in the western frontier. After two years at Jacksonville Gaylord returned to Yale for further study in theology; then on March 1, 1838, he applied to the American Home Mission Society to be sent with "a few young men, members of this seminary" to "that section of our country lying west of the Mississippi, commonly known as the 'Iowa District,' or 'Black Hawk Purchase'." Upon being appointed he served the Territory and later the State of Iowa, crossing the Missouri into Nebraska for the first time in the fall of 1855, to visit a nephew, Myron Gaylord, who had "built the second house in Omaha city in 1854." The following Sunday Mr. Gaylord preached in Council Bluffs in the morning, and returned to Omaha to preach in the afternoon. Of his first visit to Omaha he later wrote:

> In my congregation was Gov. Richardson, to whom I had been introduced the day before. At the close of the meeting he gave me an earnest invitation to come and make my home in the city that was to be. . . . I was deeply impressed from what I had seen, with the feeling that Omaha was a point of great importance and that the Lord had a great work there for some one of his servants to do.[21]

Almost immediately Rev. Reuben Gaylord decided to heed the call to the West and moved to Omaha before his application was acted upon in the East, mindful of Whittier's lines:

> I hear the tread of pioneers
> Of nations yet to be,
> The first low wash of waves, where soon
> Shall roll a human sea.[22]

[21] *Life and Labors of Rev. Reuben Gaylord.* By his Wife. Omaha, 1889. Page 167.

[22] From "On Receiving an Eagle's Quill from Lake Superior"; see Cambridge edn. p. 144.

Inspired by Whittier, Gaylord's interests were almost identical with those of the Quaker poet. The slavery question was now uppermost in his mind as he wrote:

> What is now the Territory of Nebraska was embraced in the original Louisiana purchase, made in 1803. The states of Louisiana, Missouri and Iowa, with a large portion of Minnesota, were carved out of that purchase. The territories of Kansas and Nebraska were organized out of a portion of the remainder, by act of congress approved May 30, 1854, and widely known as the Kansas-Nebraska bill. In that enactment the great barrier to the introduction of slavery in this vast region, covered by the Missouri compromise, was removed.[23]

When the controversy in Congress over the Kansas-Nebraska bill began in 1853, the pioneers in Iowa and Nebraska were reading the *National Era* with Whittier's editorials, and for the most part were under the influence of New England ministers like Gaylord who were all disciples of Whittier. They fought slavery, intemperance, and injustice to the Indian. After one year in Nebraska Mr. Gaylord made this report:

> We have just organized a temperance society on the basis of the old pledge, and are determined to raise a breakwater against the fearful tide of intemperance that has been setting in upon us. I am glad to know that my church, as a body, are a light in this place. One year since I stood alone on the extreme frontier. There was no church, no Sabbath School, and no church buildings.[24]

In 1855 Whittier published "The Panorama,"[25] in which he expressed himself with great vigor about the situation in the middle west, paying especial attention to the average churchman:

> Such are the men who in your churches rave
> To swearing-point, at mention of the slave!
> When some poor parson, haply unawares
> Stammers of freedom in his timid prayers;
> Who, if some foot-sore negro through the town
> Steals northward, volunteer to hunt him down.

Whittier was always very outspoken in regard to the attitude which he believed religion should take in regard to slavery,

[23] *Life and Labors of . . . Gaylord*, p. 173.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 191.

[25] Cambridge edn. p. 323.

freedom, and democracy. He believed the struggle would be determined by the West, especially Nebraska.

> What moral power within your grasp remains
> To stay the mischief on Nebraska's plains?

Men like Reuben Gaylord listened and brought the church as far as was humanly possible into harmony with Whittier's interpretation of the doctrinal and social message which strangely fitted into the orthodoxy of the day:

> In the long strife with evil which began
> With the first lapse of new-created man.

With this Reuben Gaylord and his fellow pioneers agreed. Whittier next called for a cleansing of bar, press, and pulpit with the hope that men like the giants of old might again rule the minds of men.

> Cast out the traitors who infest the land;
> From bar, press, pulpit, cast them everywhere,
> By dint of fasting, if you fail by prayer.
> And in their place bring men of antique mould,
> Like the grave fathers of your Age of Gold;
> Statesmen like those who sought the primal fount
> Of righteous law, the Sermon on the Mount.

Whittier's spirit came into Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska with the early New Englanders who laid the culture of the "higher law" in the churches.

Reuben Gaylord with all this in mind organized the first Congregational Church in Nebraska at Omaha "on the 4th of May, 1856, at three o'clock p.m., in the Council Chamber [of the Capital building] . . . with nine members, eight Congregationalists and one Presbyterian."[26] Congregationalism represented the political, religious, and social aspirations of New England and disseminated Whittier's views regarding slavery, temperance, and tolerance to Negroes, Indians, and other minorities. The Methodist, Presbyterian, and other churches joined Reuben Gaylord's work with heart and hand to such an extent that the *Omaha Herald* both daily and weekly proclaimed Whittier even though its political sympathies were strongly democratic and naturally

[26] *Life and Letters of . . . Gaylord*, p. 397.

opposed to those of the Republican Party, the party of Whittier and Lincoln.

The *Herald* began publication in 1865 under the editorship of Dr. George L. Miller, an eastern man who so violently opposed the Republican principles that his life was often in danger. In his own words:

> War passions were let loose along the Kansas border and spread as far north from it as Nebraska City. Democrats slept with shotguns under their heads in those days, and so did I, as the guest of Dr. Brooke in Salem, Richardson county, one night during that campaign. Every democrat was a "Copperhead" and a "traitor" in those times. Rev. Mr. Giddings and his good wife at Table Rock believed my life would be in danger if I spoke at Pawnee City.[27]

Yet, in spite of the political attitude of the Omaha *Weekly Herald,* a superficial survey in the files shows a considerable number of Whittier's poems published and other references to him:

December, 1869: The Reward by Whittier.[28]

October 19, 1870: New Poem by Whittier.[29]

The following poem appears in the *Boston Transcript.* It was sent to a recent social meeting by Mr. Whittier who is now at the Isle of Shoals.

From these wild rocks I look today
O'er leagues of dancing waves, and see
The misty coast-line stretch away,
And mark the spot where you must be.

I listen and I seem to hear
The pleasant voices of old days,
The pines that shade the Isle of Deer,
The rippling river's song of praise.

Dear friends, I send you what I can,
I float across the severing tide
All that a shy or silent man
Could give if sitting by your side.

I thank you for sweet festal days,
For tender memories lingering long,
For joyful meetings, fond delays,
And ties of friendship woven strong.

---

[27] J. S. Morton, *History of Nebraska,* vol. ii, p. 719.
[28] Cambridge edn. p. 430. [29] *Ibid.,* p. 226.

Not vainly has your work been done,
For many a heart, else cold and dim,
Those sweet June days are shining on,
And woods and waters sing their hymn.

O, friends, whose lives still keep their prime
Whose bright example warms and cheers,
Ye teach us how to smile at time
And set to music all his years.

Make room, O river of our home,
For other feet in place of ours;
And in the summer yet to come,
Lapse softly by the Feast of Flowers.

Hold in thy mirror, calm and deep,
The pleasant pictures thou hast seen;
Forget thy lovers not, but keep
Our memory, like thy laurels, green.

The text of this poem as given in the Cambridge edition, page 226, is entitled "The Laurels," and reprints an earlier version first printed in the *Salem Register*, July 18, 1870, under title "To William Ashby and his household," with the added date 7th mo. 11, 1870. The Ashbys were friends of Whittier who owned a large estate on the Merrimac opposite Amesbury, called "The Laurels." It was the custom of a group of congenial friends to hold annual picnics at the Ashby estate. "Revisited" was read at "The Laurels" at the annual meeting in June 1865. In this poem Whittier reveals his love for the Merrimac. Francis H. Underwood, Whittier's early biographer, points out the fact that "no poet has more fully identified himself with the beauty of nature in the region of his birth than Whittier." The earliest version of the poem now entitled "The Laurels," which appeared in 1870 in the local Massachusetts papers, has the eight stanzas printed above. It thus appears that the earliest versions appeared in identical form in the local Massachusetts and Nebraska papers, the Nebraska papers reprinting the poem three months later.

November 30, 1870: The "New Poem by Whittier" is reprinted verbatim from October 19.

March 15, 1871: NATURE'S WORSHIP by J. G. Whittier.[30]

This poem, a great favorite with frontier editors, is printed in the Cambridge edition with the title "The Worship of Nature."

May 17, 1871: FAME (From the Atlantic Monthly.)

Colored son of California,
John G. Whittier was thy friend.
In thy darkest days of danger
He stood by thee to defend.

To thy cause he gave his genius,
And the influence of his fame!
Speak, and tell me, dusky brother,
Hast thou ever heard his name?

Spoke the son of California,
With an elbow on each knee:
Neber heered the name o' Whityar
Think I heered tho' o' *John G.*

This poem, written by James T. Fields, was printed in the *Atlantic Monthly* for May 1871 and almost immediately reprinted in the *Omaha Herald*. As has already been noted, the *Atlantic* was eagerly read on the frontier, the contents of the various issues were noted in the newspapers, and words of praise given unstintedly. The influence of the *Atlantic* on the American pioneer settlements has never been fully appreciated.

October 11, 1871: A note that "John G. Whittier headed the list of anti-Butler delegates, from Amesbury, to the Massachusetts Republican Convention." The Omaha pioneers expressed much interest in Whittier's opposition to Benjamin Franklin Butler (1818-1893), who was often in difficulty with his own party in Massachusetts. In 1871 he ran for the Republican nomination for governor and was defeated, as the Nebraskans thought, because of Whittier's opposition to him.

November 29, 1871: THE LITTLE PEOPLE by John G. Whittier.

A dreary place would be this earth,
Were there no little people in it;
The song of life would lose its mirth,
Were there no children to begin it.

[30] Cambridge edn. p. 261.

No little forms, like buds to grow,
And make the admiring heart surrender,
No little hands on breast and brow,
To keep the thrilling love chords tender.

The sterner souls would grow more stern,
Unfeeling nature more inhuman,
And man to stoic coldness turn,
And woman would be less than woman.

Life's song, indeed, would lose its charm,
Were there no babies to begin it;
A doleful place the world would be,
Were there no little people in it.

This poem is reproduced in full as it appears in the frontier ewspapers, since there has been much debate about its author- iip. It was printed in 1872, the year after its appearance in ebraska papers, as Whittier's work, as the introductory poem a book entitled *Child-Life*, which the poet edited. Mr. T. ranklin Currier cites [31] a letter written by Whittier on July 10, 873, in which he disowns the authorship of the poem, which he cluded in the *Child-Life* anonymously. But why should the oem have been attributed to Whittier at all if it was not his? erhaps, at a later time, he felt that its sentiment and lack of betic charm would detract from his later work. It may be one f his earlier poems which he felt free at a later time to revise r reject entire. It is also possible that this poem was written by me friend, and rewritten by Whittier. In a recent letter to the uthor Mr. Currier suggests the possibility that the poem was iginally written by Lucy Larcom, and rewritten by Whittier. his is an excellent suggestion, and very probably the explana- on of the origin of this puzzling poem.

December 13, 1871: Chicago by John G. Whittier.[32]

This poem, commemorating the great Chicago fire, which urned a section of the city on October 8-10, shared honors in ie Nebraska papers with a poem by Bret Harte celebrating ie same catastrophe.

[31] In his *Bibliography of John Greenleaf Whittier*, Cambridge 1937, 605.

[32] Cambridge edn. p. 230.

March 5, 1873: Reaping.[33]

> We shape ourselves the joy or fear
> Of which the coming life is made,
> And fill our Future's atmosphere
> With sunshine or with shade.
> The tissue of the Life to be
> We weave with colors all our own,
> And in the field of Destiny
> We reap as we have sown.

This excerpt from "Raphael" curiously preceded by one day the publication of the same excerpt with the same title in *Youth's Companion*. Later this excerpt appears on the Nebraska frontier in the Anthology of Jennie Shrader.[34]

April 2, 1873: Light Is Breaking—Whittier.[35]

> Through the harsh noises of our day
> A low sweet prelude finds its way;
> Through clouds of doubt and creeds of fear,
> A light is breaking calm and clear.
> That song of love, now low now far,
> Ere long shall swell from star to star!
> That light, the breaking day, which tips
> The golden-spired Apocalypse.

The Cambridge edition has this poem as two stanzas of "The Chapel of the Hermits," which, inspired by Saint Pierre's *Études de la Nature*, was written in 1851. Then, as later, this poem responded to the faith of the frontiersman.

September 19, 1873: The Angel of Patience, by John G. Whittier.[36]

July 3, 1874: The Bible—Whittier.[37]

An excerpt of eight lines from "Miriam":

> We search the world for truth . . .
> We come back laden from our quest
> To find that all the sages said
> Is in the Book our mothers read.

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[33] From "Raphael"; see Cambridge edn. p. 387.

[34] See the present writer's discussion of this Anthology in *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association*, vol. 28 (1939), p. 91 ff.

[35] See "The Chapel of the Hermits," Cambridge edn. p. 39.

[36] Cambridge edn. p. 425. [37] From "Miriam"; see Cambridge edn. p. 93

This excerpt was used by Jennie Shrader in her Anthology and entitled "The Book." The passage was evidently often copied in frontier newspapers under some title signifying the Bible.

October 30, 1874: A letter "to the Editor of the Herald" dated Fremont (Nebraska), October 23, 1874, signed Sam Dix, begins as follows:

> In the language of Whittier, or some other man, this village is "just red hot."

Here is proof that the pioneers on the frontier had a remarkable knowledge of Whittier.

December 17, 1875: Corn Song, by J. G. Whittier.[38]

This poem from "The Huskers" was extremely popular on the prairie, where an immense amount of corn was raised on the fertile fields. Whittier himself was interested in the raising of corn, making inquiries of the pioneers about it.[39] In 1876 the *Omaha Herald* believed everybody knew the author and reprinted "Corn Song" without any mention of authorship.

In "After Election,"[40] which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* in January 1869, Whittier breathes a prayer of thanksgiving for the part which various States took in the winning of freedom, mentioning Nebraska first:

> That signal from Nebraska sprung,
> This, from Nevada's mountain tongue!
> Is this thy answer, strong and free,
> O loyal heart of Tennessee? Etc.

Enough has been shown from the files of a paper opposed to Whittier in politics to show the respect which those who differed from him nevertheless held for him. Another paper, the *Omaha Weekly Republican*, which began publication in 1858, became interested in the struggle for equal suffrage to which Whittier had given his full support. To further the cause in Nebraska, a "Woman's Department" was conducted by Harriet S. Brooks, who says of Boston, under date of June 10, 1881:

[38] From "The Huskers"; see Cambridge edn. p. 363.

[39] Cf. article by the present writer, "John Greenleaf Whittier and his Middle Western Correspondents," in *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association*, vol. 28 (1939), p. 19 ff, 29.

[40] Cambridge edn. p. 382.

> At the recent school-suffrage anniversary at Boston, much was said that should stimulate the women of our state to perform their duties as citizens of the state in local school matters.

The following week, June 17, 1881, in the same department, Mrs. Brooks gave an account of the address of Governor Long to the women of Massachusetts. He said, according to the *Omaha Weekly Republican:*

> If I have learned anything by experience it is that there is neither justice nor safety in a government by a part while others are held irresponsible.

The issue of July 15, 1881, has in first place on the editorial page "In Memory," [41] a poem "adapted from Whittier":

> As a guest who may not stay
> Long and sad farewells to say
> Glides with smiling face away . . . ;

and fourteen stanzas follow in memory of Phineas Warren Hitchcock, who had lived for Nebraska in the spirit of Whittier. Born in Lebanon, New York, in 1831, Hitchcock graduated from Williams College and came to Omaha in 1857 when it was a frontier town. Vigorously opposing slavery, he was sent as the delegate from the Territory of Nebraska to the Chicago Convention which nominated Lincoln in 1860. From 1862 until 1864 Hitchcock served as United States Marshall for the Territory of Nebraska. Like Whittier he served also as editor of a newspaper, founding the *Daily Evening Tribune* to emphasize his political doctrine. In 1871 the *Daily Evening Tribune* was consolidated with the *Republican* when Hitchcock became United States Senator for a six-year term. Gradually Whittier was becoming the guiding spirit for the new State. When a crisis arose some one was sure to ask what Whittier would think about it.

In 1881, when the campaign was on for equal suffrage, the women of Nebraska looked to Whittier for encouragement, since he was considered by many in Nebraska, Iowa,[42] and the sur-

[41] Cambridge edn. p. 214.

[42] See the present writer's article "Correspondence between John Greenleaf Whittier and Iowa" in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics,* April 1937, for a discussion of Whittier's attitude toward equal suffrage as seen in Iowa.

ounding States to be the greatest living champion of pure emocracy. Harriet S. Brooks, who conducted the Woman's)epartment in the *Omaha Daily Republican* and in the *Omaha Veekly Republican* and who kept constantly in touch with the ituation in Massachusetts, organized suffrage clubs in Nebraska. 'he *Omaha Daily Republican* of August 21, 1881, carried the ollowing:

Woman's Department

Conducted by Mrs. Harriet S. Brooks

GOOD WORDS FROM THE POET WHITTIER

FROM every quarter I receive intelligence daily of organizing and plans for work; and it is noticeable that in most places, as at Ashland, the leaders are women of intellect, education and refinement, and many of them property holders and business and professional women, who feel a citizen's true interest in the gaining and exercise of the franchise.

Some weeks ago I addressed the following to a number of the leading literary and public men of the east, and in response to it I received several answers—one or two unfavorable, some inquisitive, and the most of them hearty endorsements of the cause of woman suffrage:

Omaha, May 30, 1881.

Dear Sir: The legislature of Nebraska, in February last, by a three-fifths vote of each house—the necessary "constitutional majority"—adopted a joint resolution, submitting to the voters of the state, an amendment to the constitution striking out the word "male," from the sections of that instrument relating to suffrage, in other words providing for impartial suffrage as respects male and female citizens. The vote on the proposed amendment will be given in 1882. It has occurred to me, and the suggestion has met with general favor among friends of the measure, that a brief expression of sentiment from yourself, and other friends of "equal rights," well known to the entire country, would greatly aid in securing the triumphant endorsement, by our young state, of a measure which we entertain expectation of consummating.

The occasion is deemed most auspicious and I trust you will see fit to signalize it with some encouraging word, that shall carry weight with our freedom loving people.

Hoping to hear from you at an early date, I am with great respect,

Truly Yours,
HARRIET S. BROOKS

MR. WHITTIER'S REPLY

Danvers, Mass., 6th Mo., 1881.

Dear Friend: It has given me great satisfaction to see that the legislature of Nebraska has submitted to the people of the state a constitutional amendment providing for full and impartial suffrage. I cannot but hope the fresh, vigorous young state, unhindered by the prejudices and conservatism of its older sisters, will give an affirmative response to that amendment. The question everywhere is only one of time. The cause in which you are engaged is certain of success.

Thy friend,
JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Then follows a brief reply from Dr. Hiram Washington Thomas of Chicago. Mrs. Brooks's comment on the two replies follows:

> No good cause ever had, and none can ever need, nobler friends or better championship than these. It is, indeed, one which has at last come to enlist its supporters from among the choicest spirits that our Christian civilization has produced. I do not fear that a cause which enlists the sympathy and support of such men as the poet Whittier and Dr. Thomas will be repudiated by the enlightened and progressive people of this state.

By 1890 Whittier had come to be looked upon in Nebraska almost as a prophet and saint. Even those who had in the war days disagreed with him on his political and abolitionist views now gave whole-hearted reverence to him. He had become the good man *par excellence*, the man of integrity who could neither be bought nor sold, the man who stood for great causes, even if he stood alone. His Quakerism was respected because Nebraskans felt he had endured just as much as those who had fought on the battlefield. All in all, a new idea of citizenship came from the man whose poems were read in all the Nebraska papers.

When Jennie Shrader Wilson came with her pioneer missionary husband, Rev. Joseph M. Wilson, to Humphrey, Nebraska, bringing with her the Whittier Anthology on which she had

worked for many years, she found everyone familiar with her hero.[43] The Rev. Mr. Wilson was a Presbyterian pioneer and carried into the western and central part of the State the work which had been started in the 1830's at Bellevue. Presbyterianism, as Mrs. Wilson taught, was made better by its loyalty on the Nebraskan frontier to Whittier. It is true that Nebraska Protestantism brought freedom and democracy to the State to a great extent because it adhered so closely to the teachings of Whittier who, as was seen in his "The Panorama," held to a theological system that fitted perfectly into the religious thought of both the Presbyterians and Congregationalists. The Baptists, Methodists, and other groups likewise agreed. Then, of course, there was the loyalty of the Quakers, who became ever stronger and more numerous in the State.

When Whittier died in 1892 the Omaha *World-Herald* carried the following editorial on the morning of September 9, 1892:

THY FRIEND, J. G. WHITTIER

A very good man is gone—one who had no enemies. He was not, by the highest estimate, a great poet, but by any estimate, he was a good man. He was one in whom the "New England conscience" was impersonated. The passion in his lines was never inspired by love, by beauty, or by any of those things which ordinarily put fire into the poet's verse. Only when a question of principle was involved did he forget his temperate, descriptive and judicious strain, and let the words fall like hot seals from his accusing pen. Art appealed to him only measurably. But a wrong that was to be righted agitated him to the core. When other men were fighting with instruments of death he was fighting with barbed words, and he helped in the time of this country's greatest peril more than any one can realize who does not know how many foes there were in the very midst of us. These were foes who needed to be won, not conquered, and John Greenleaf Whittier, fearless, armed with the argument of right and truth, did much of the winning of such. Now he launched a scathing rebuke

[43] See the present writer's account of Mrs. Wilson's anthology, and the work of her husband in Nebraska, in *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association,* vol. 28 (1939), p. 91 ff.

to the ministers of Christ who dared to defend slavery with the Bible; now he held relentlessly up to view the picture of some lonely death in slavery; now he showed with the undeniable directness of the realist, the awful cowardice of conservatism among those who should be fighting for the betterment of this slave-cursed country. With him the rebellion was in no sense a political issue. He cared nothing about the complex question of state rights. But he cared with his whole eager soul for human rights, and he stood for those with as much courage, and, if the truth must be told, with almost as much peril to himself, as if he had been a soldier at the front.

His purity of thought, his love for the traditions of his country, his understanding of the New England people, mark him as most distinctly an American poet. There is nothing more accurate in literature than his picture of New England life and scenery. Who, for example, could do better than this?

> A wild and broken landscape, spiked with firs,
> Toughening the bleak horizon's northern edge;
> Steep, cavernous hillsides, where black hemlock spurs
> And sharp, gray splinters of the wind-swept ledge
> Pierced the thin glazed ice, or bristling rose
> Where the cold rim of sky sank down upon the snows,
> And eastward cold, wide marshes stretched away;
> Dull, dreary flats without a bush or tree,
> O'ercrossed by icy creeks, where twice a day
> Gurgled the waters of the moon-swept sea;
> And faint with distance came the stilled roar,
> The melancholy lapse of waves on the low shore,
> The melancholy lapse of waves on the low shore.[44]

His volume throngs with such true scenes, which leave themselves as firmly fixed upon the memory as the lochs of Scotland, when Walter Scott told us how they looked. Pale, true and pure are Whittier's lives, lofty his hopes, kind his earnest heart, peaceful his aims, honest and sweet his life. The coming generation will not count him among America's greatest, but no one will ever question but that he was America's friend, or that, if immortality holds rewards for any, it will hold its richest for him.

[44] From "The Bridal of Pennacook," part v; see Cambridge edn. p. 23 (this passage on p. 29, in slightly different form).

BRIEFER NOTICES

By Henry J. Cadbury

REFERENCES to Quakers as early as 1653 are not common in non-Quaker sources. For that reason we may note in the diary of Thomas Crosfield, rector of Spennithorne, Yorks, two allusions of that year. "June 9 Dorothy Hammon a woman Quaker of Midlam sent to the house of Correction"; "Nov. 24 God out of evill can bring good, and why may he not out of the new sect of Quakers produce Glory to himselfe & good to his people, if they but with patience wait his lessone." See *The Diary of Thomas Crosfield M.A., B.D., Fellow of Queen's College Oxford,* Selected by F. S. Boas, 1935, pp. 99, 103.

A. DAY BRADLEY, of Hunter College, New York, contributed to *Scripta Mathematica* vi (1939), 219-227 an interesting article on "The Mathematical Notebooks of James Boone, Jr." Boone (1743/4-1795) was of Quaker origin, a cousin of the famous Kentucky pioneer, Daniel Boone. He was disowned in 1780 for taking the test of allegiance and abjuration. As a school teacher his occupation had depended on this non-pacifist requirement of the revolutionary State government. For many years he was a teacher of the Friends School of Exeter, Pennsylvania. His manuscript notebooks, preserved at the Library of the Berks County Historical Society at Reading, Pennsylvania, cover a wide range of mathematics: algebra, arithmetic, astronomy, navigation, and fluxions. They show an original and industrious mind, and an interest in alternative mathematical rules, and suggest that his scholars at Exeter "were introduced to parts of the mathematics far beyond the traditional rule of three of the early country schools."

MILTON RUBINCAM publishes in the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 59 (1941), 96-115, "A Critical Analysis of the Stokes Family Pedigree," in which he gives evidence about the English antecedents of Thomas Stokes, the Quaker, who settled in West Jersey in 1677. Attention may also be called to the same writer's article in *The Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey* 12 (1937), 73-79 on "A Little-Known Adventure of Thomas Stokes—1665."

A *GRANDFATHER FOR FRANKLIN,* by Florence Bennett Anderson (Boston, Meadow Publishing Co., 1940, 462 pp.) is, as its subtitle suggests, "the true story of a Nantucket pioneer and his mates." It is the story of a Friend, Peter Folger (1609-1690), who became a settler in the island and was the author of at least one printed piece, *A Looking Glasse for the Times.* The book is based on much research, and includes an account of the settlement of the island and of political controversies and relations with the Indians.

NOTES and Queries clxxi (1936), 329 recalls the episode of a Quaker lieutenant in the Royal Navy—Robert Foster of Lancaster, who at the time of the American Revolution defied his Quaker upbringing and distinguished himself in action in the West Indies and off Portsmouth. Revisiting his home he was persuaded to give up the service and he became a good Friend until his death in 1824. There is included a contemporary account of his going to war and of his appearance in Lancaster meeting in the uniform of a lieutenant of a man-of-war.

AN ARTICLE, based on the minute books of monthly meetings in Southwest Lincolnshire for 1668 to 1718, was published by Colonel W. V. R. King-Fane in *The Lincolnshire Magazine* ii (1936), 321 ff under the title "South Lincolnshire Quakers in the Seventeenth Century." See also Mary B. Burtt's brief account of "Friends' Meeting House, Brant Broughton," *ibid.*, p. 356f.

THE Antique Collector, London, vii (1936), 75 ff presents an illustrated article on Daniel Quare, London, a Quaker clockmaker famous for his invention of repeating mechanism. The writer, John James, deals especially with two specimens of Quare's work.

A BRIEF unsigned article on Hannah Mary Rattibone, the Quaker novelist, is to be found in *Notes and Queries* 177 (1939), 243-4. Perhaps her anthology, *The Poetry of Birds,* illustrated with her own drawings, is of more real interest today (see *ibid.,* pp. 335f (portrait), 376).

TO THE LOCAL HISTORIES of Quakerism published in recent years should be added one on "The Early Quakers in North-East Scotland," by Rev. John Torrance, published in the *Transactions* of the Banffshire Field Club for 1936, pp. 67-87. Besides the materials familiar to Quaker historians scattered printed references are collected and the Privy Council Records are employed. There were four monthly meetings in the North, at Aberdeen, Ury, Kinmuck, and Montrose, but the total membership was never large. The article contains much interesting detail.

THE ARTICLE by Henry J. Cadbury on "Christopher Meidel and the First Norwegian Contacts with Quakerism" appearing in the *Harvard Theological Review* xxxiv (1941), 7-23, provides the prelude to the article by the same writer in the same *Review* sixteen years before on "The Norwegian Quakers of 1825." The few references to Friends visiting Norway in the early days, including the shipload of prisoners diverted by war and storm to Bergen in 1665 when they were destined for exile in the West Indies, are followed by a collection of data from various sources on the career of Christopher Meidel. A Norwegian trained as a Lutheran clergyman, he joined Friends in England about 1699 and by translating into Danish the *Apology* of Robert Barclay and other classics contributed to the later chapters of Norwegian Quakerism.

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